NARRATIVE

of JOHNN CARL BUETTNER

in the American Revolution

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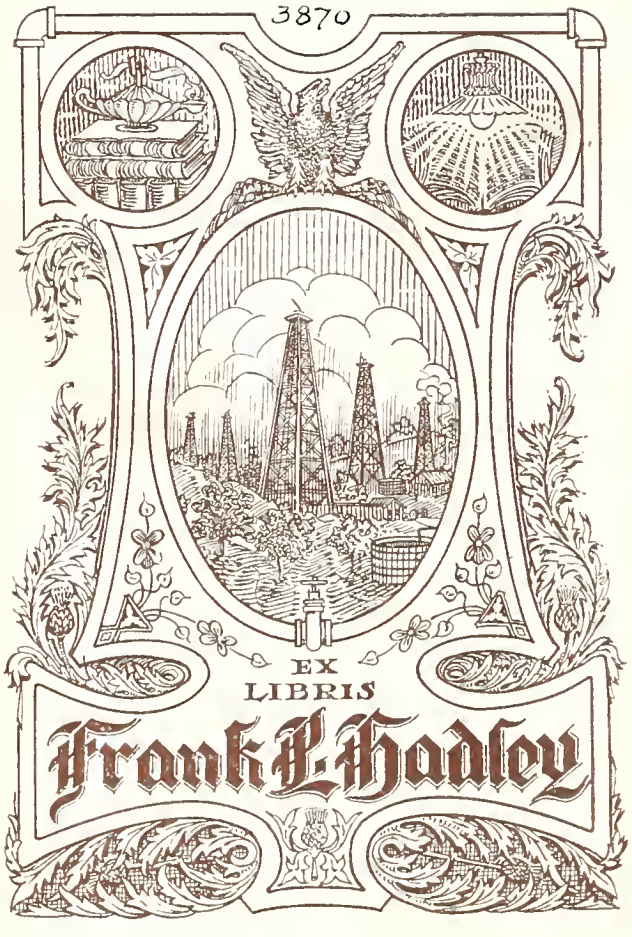

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JOHANN CARL BUETTNER

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Joh. Carl Büttner

NARRATIVE

OF

Johann Carl Buettner

IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The following Narrative* is a translation from the German. The original German edition is a very scarce Book. The translation is abridged in so far as the greater part of his adventures in other countries is left out, being of little interest for the American reader. The part produced here is an interesting medley of serious incidents and accidental exploits, and strews side lights on the American revolution not to be undervalued.

The German literature is still full of unpublished interesting material relating to important events of American History. If this little attempt finds support, other books may follow.

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*Buettner, der Amerikaner. Eine Selbstbiographie Johann Carl Buettner's, ehemaligen nordamerikanischen Kriegers. XIX, 137 pp. Camenz 1828.

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The place where I, Johann Carl Buettner, the American,* first saw the light in the year 1754, is Lauta, a village situated in the district of the royal province of Senftenberg. My father, Johann Ehregott Buettner, a regularly ordained minister, preached there the best of all religions. My mother's name was Johanne Christiane, and she was the daughter of a clergyman named Pittius of Nussdorf, near Forste, situated in Niederlaussitz. I was the third child of my parents, who were blest with eleven children, four of whom are alive at present. Nature endowed all my brothers and sisters with a lively temperament, and in this respect was not less generous to me. Love of excitement and adventure, that I have not lost even in my seventieth year, became noticeable in my earliest youth. By the time I had the full use of my legs, there was no piece of daring that I would refuse. The higher the tree, the happier I was to climb to the top. Naturally on account of this, I sometimes suffered mischance. Thus it happened that in my fifth year I climbed a tree in the garden of the Rectory at Lauta, and had reached the very top, when the limb to which I was holding suddenly broke. I fell to the ground, and lay there like one dead. Summoned from the house by the terrified cries of my playmates, my mother rushed to my side. But instead of sympathizing with me, she restored me to consciousness with several smart cuffs on the ear.

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*That I added to my family name the title "American" might strike many as uncalled for and arrogant; but I did this not without sufficient reason. Although I no longer live in America, I spent, however, my best years in that part of the world, fought in the significant, decisive North American struggle for independence, and moistened with my blood the soil of the great North American republic.

I did not quarrel with the fate that very early in my life gave me opportunities to exercise and develop my bodily powers. Had I been coddled by my parents as many children are, the burden of physical trials and tribulations that the future had in store for me would have been harder to endure. Therefore I counsel parents in the higher walks of life to take thought not only of the training of the spiritual powers of their children, but also to concern themselves with the development of their physical fitness. The exercise and development of the bodily powers are indeed requisite to the complete education of men and women, for parents can never tell into what circumstances their children may sometime be placed, where perhaps just the lack of early training of their physical powers having left them timid and lacking in courage, might render them incapable of doing that which they are required to do. Doubtless in after years I would have borne less easily my lot as apprentice to a surgeon and as volunteer in America, had I been weakened physically by indulgence. Accordingly, the development and strengthening of my body was provided for; or rather, I saw to that myself; and very little did any one concern oneself with my spiritual education, for that matter. My father was otherwise engaged with his ministerial offices, or with his farming, or with the instruction of my older brothers. The incumbent schoolmaster to whose mercies I was intrusted was little fitted to handle so wild a boy as I. My father and my mother came to realize this, and finally the latter took some pains to arouse in me an interest in the doctrines of religion (for which I am now not unthankful); they also sent me to Senftenberg, to the school at that time taught by Kretschmar, the rector who has since become widely known because of his tragic end. This man was indeed

an excellent schoolmaster, but was suffering even at that time from hypochondria.

In the school at Senftenberg I laid the foundations for a knowledge of the teachings of Christianity, of the Latin language, and of other useful branches of learning, and was thus prepared for one of the higher institutions of learning. Notwithstanding the fact that it is unpleasant to remember that I caused my teachers at Senftenberg a great deal of trouble, more on account of my lively disposition than because I was impelled by any bad intentions, yet I like to think often of my sojourn in this town. Much of this pleasure is caused by recalling the intellectual enjoyments that appeal to a boy, and that I experienced here. Gladly do I remember the times when I chartered a canoe, in company with playmates no less lively than myself, to explore the Elster River and to land with them near a place where stood the old castle which was demolished by the Hussites in the year 1431, and of which a few ruins are still to be seen. Here it was that in the Middle Ages, predatory and belligerent knights fell upon itinerant merchants. And here at the approach of danger those robbers fled to their Sumpfenberg through stone-walled secret passages, known only to themselves, deep under the Elster River. And here it was that we, spirited young knights, also usually started our rambles. Not for profit-seeking merchants were we on the search; but for wild geese, innocent ducks, and other water-loving birds whose eggs we wanted to find.

I visited each year the vineyards on the hills that surrounded Senftenberg like an amphitheatre; not only to enjoy the wonderful view that revealed to us far-away Bautzen and Dresden, but also on account of the cherries, the grapes, and all the other fruit of the fall. I was especially delighted with the joyous activity in the

vineyards in the wine season, and with the feasts and the festivals that were constantly being celebrated. I paid very little attention at that time to the earthworks in the vicinity of the vineyard; these doubtless had been thrown up by Slaves and Wends when they tried to resist their German victors in the woods and marshy places near Senftenberg. After I had prepared myself in Senftenberg for a higher school, I followed the advice of my parents and matriculated at the lyceum at Camenz, where in those days taught Vogt, Praetorius, Schultze and others whose memories will always be dear to me. My father had a few friends in Camenz who very soon proved useful to me in many ways. After a short time, I ate my noonday meal with hospitable families; such families were never scarce in Camenz. The archdeacon Julich, a university friend of my father, gave me shelter in this friendly Camenz. Naturally all the teachers, and also my reverend host, influenced me in no small degree. This last named patron was a kind-hearted, humor-loving man whose pleasure it was to entertain the son of his old friend in the most interesting manner, especially during the long winter evenings. He not only related to me tales of the natural curiosities of our own country, but he also drew my attention to the features of other parts of the world. Especially he talked about the beauties of the East Indies, and of the silver and gold mines of America, and not infrequently gave me to read descriptions of travel written by men who had seen these parts of the world and in many cases had grown very rich there. The good man did not suspect in those days how these stories of his, and the interesting contents of the books he had given me, would influence my future life. But it was at precisely that time that I began to consider seriously the possibility of visiting those celebrated regions of the world, after I

had completed my studies; and with these thoughts I combined the hope that perhaps I too might succeed in returning from the East Indian and American paradises a rich man. How I was deceived in my hopes! Partly because I was urged and partly because of my own inclinations, I entered the school-choir at Camenz. This choir had to sing not only in front of the houses of the citizens in the city but in the suburbs as well. On an occasion of this sort, one very hard winter, I had the misfortune to freeze my feet. It became necessary for me to seek the advice of a surgeon. During one of the visits of the surgeon's assistant, a young physician, it was mentioned that surgery is the one profession that could take one through the world, because it is necessary everywhere. This remark drove me to the decision to adopt this profession myself. My mother gave her consent immediately, because as she said, it was pretty hard on my father to give me an opportunity to study, since my brothers had studied away all his money; my father objected at first, saying he would have liked to see me study theology also; but after a while he complied with my wish and gave his consent. I became the apprentice of Kirsten, the surgeon at Camenz; and I laid many a plan to go out, after my apprenticeship was finished, into the wide world, perhaps to America, or to the far-away beautiful East Indies. And now I learned not only how to trim beards and the other accomplishments of surgical skill, but was obliged also, as an apprentice, to polish the shoes of my master, and to attend to other domestic duties. In those days I did not have the slightest suspicion that in time to come, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, I should have to perform more menial and much more difficult tasks with my hands. But meantime I was contented with the lot I had chosen for myself; I was obedient and did all that

my master and his wife expected me to do; and altogether, I did not have a very bad time of it during my apprenticeship. During this period nothing happened to cause a memorable change in my life. On the twenty-first of February, during the last year of my apprenticeship, I witnessed the grewsome execution of a man who had murdered his mother, his father and his brother, in the village of Goeda, two miles outside of Camenz. This three-fold murderer, named Jacob Ritter was twenty-four years of age. He had murdered his father and his mother out of disgust that they had lived so long and had disappointed him in his inheritance; afterwards killing his brother for fear he might make known to the world his devilish deed. But he received his much-deserved punishment. He was dragged on a cow-hide to the place of execution; after being pinched with red-hot tweezers, he was broken on the wheel.

After I had completed my apprenticeship, I returned to the home of my parents. Had I followed the wishes of my father, I would have gone to Dresden, to complete my studies in that city's anatomical institution, under the supervision of another of his university friends, D. Demiani. If only I had taken the advice of my excellent father, I doubtless would have had a more fortunate career. But I had no inclination whatever to go to Dresden, and I longed for the wide world. Finally my father consented; and after I had said good-bye to all my relations I left the place of my birth, with the firm decision not to return until Dame Fortune had put me in a position to come back in a coach and four. How vainly did I wait on her favor! Perhaps she considered me unworthy of her gifts.

The start of my years of pilgrimage was quite pleasant. My father gave me enough money to take a stage to

Dresden, and my two older brothers accompanied me thus far. I had plenty of money, since my grandfather, whom shortly before my departure I had shaved for the first time, had given me a ducat. Moreover my father handed me, just as I was leaving, the entire contents of my savings bank. A merry trio of brothers, we reached the hotel in Dresden called Kammerdieners and took a room, deciding to spend a few days there, in order to have a good time. And we carried out our intentions. All day long we bowled; and we played cards all night. But since all good things finally pass, this merry life had to come to an end. After a few days, my fortune had been squandered and my brothers had to return home. With empty pockets and a heavy heart, I bade farewell to my kinsmen, and went towards Prague. During this journey I had plenty of time to reflect on my recent foolish and profligate carryings-on, and especially to realize the harmfulness of immoderate card-playing.

I had the good fortune to find shelter in Prague. I liked very much this curious capital of Bohemia, where more than four centuries ago Johann Huss kindled anew the light of Christian truth. But as the people here tried to persuade me to embrace the Catholic faith, I took my departure; and still indignant over their attempts to proselyte me, I wandered towards Vienna. Here I arrived one evening and took lodgings in an inn called Posthoernchen in Leopold City, a section of Vienna. Worn out, I threw upon a bench my gripsack, through the straps of which I had thrust my sword, ordered a half bottle of wine, and sat down to await my supper. Notwithstanding the fact that during my journey from Prague to Vienna I had been disgusted with myself over my card-playing, I could not resist the temptation of watching the game of two journeymen apprentices. While I was looking on, a petty officer

and six men came hurriedly into the room and accosted the persons at the table with: "Well, Well! And this is where we find you!" The soldiers quickly arrested one after the other of us three. Without listening to the explanation that I had only an hour ago arrived from Prague, and did not even know the other two fellows, they searched my pockets, confiscated my portfolio, my diploma, and my razor, and escorted me over the bridge of the Danube inside the city of Vienna. Here in a little house which was situated near an insignificant marketplace, I was asked the following questions: Where had I come from, what was my business, who were my parents, how many brothers and sisters had I, and what were their first names. After this examination, still one more question was put to me, and that was if I were one of "those that eat meat." And then the soldiers took me to the so-called Rumor House high up on the fourth floor. I was horrified to find that some of those who were detained there, were in chains. I thereupon sat down on a bench, and notwithstanding the fact that I knew I was innocent of misdeed, fell to weeping. "Oh, do not cry," the others called out, trying to comfort me. "Neither are we thieves nor murderers, but honest men. We are farmers whom they brought to this place because we refused the increased vassalage that was demanded of us. But everything will come out right in the end." Quietness and even a degree of cheerfulness were restored to me by these consolations. And later on, it occurred to me that this undeserved punishment in Vienna was justly meted out to me by God's providence for my passion for card-playing, and to prevent me even from looking at others playing cards. With these thoughts I fell asleep. In the morning I received one cent's worth of bread; at noon a little bowl of fish soup which had been collected in the monasteries

and in the evening again a little soup. Every day came a petty officer to ascertain the state of our health. After enduring these conditions eleven days, I was finally led by a Rumor soldier down two flights of stairs for an examination. Here in a room sat a man clothed all in black. He put to me again the questions that I had answered at the time of my arrest. I explained to him how everything happened, and drew his attention to the fact that if he would only consider what I had told him about my part in the affair, my innocence must be established. The gentleman in the black clothes thereupon gave me three shillings, and dismissed me with the consoling assurance that I would be set free very soon. But eight days passed before a petty officer appeared who ordered me to follow him. He led me down one flight of stairs, where I was given back my portfolio, my razor, and all my belongings, and was ordered to limit my stay in Vienna to five days; also not to go around to the members of my profession with requests for money. I was told to report to the commander of the city each evening, and to make a request for a pass that would enable me to remain in the city the following day.

Glad to have regained my freedom, I went down to the Leopold City to get my gripsack from the Posthoernchen Inn. All my inquiries seemed to be in vain. Every one professed not to know me, and no one seemed to have seen the gripsack I had left behind. Finally the waiter remembered that he had found a gripsack several weeks ago, early in the morning, on one of the benches in the dining room, and that he had taken charge of it. He brought it, and after I had shown him the key to convince him that it really belonged to me, he handed it over, but without the sword, which had gone astray. Now he demanded a gratuity. I would have been happy to satisfy him, but this was impossible

because I did not have a cent in my pocket. This happened on a Saturday, and as the waiter surmised I might be a Protestant, he advised me to attend on Sunday forenoon the services in the chapel of the Danish embassador, but first to state my condition to the pastor and announce my intention to quit the city. The waiter said this Protestant minister would provide me my traveling expenses. I followed his advice, and received from the pastor two dollars, enough to pay my passage to Hermansstadt im Siebenbuergen. After I had received in addition to this a viaticum of sixteen groschen from the master of the guild of surgeons, I started the next day on my journey from Vienna to Pressburg. This fortified place is situated at the mouth of the Waag where she pours her waters into the Danube, and is inhabited by Hungarians, Slavs and Germans. Mentioning this village, I cannot refrain from pointing out a theory of mine regarding the name of my present residence, Senftenberg. Senftenberg means in the Wendish language Kommorow, a name which is similar to Kommorn. But not only the names but the topographical situation of these two cities are very similar. Both are situated on a level, marshy plain, crossed often by rivers. Kommorn is still a fortified place and Senftenberg used to be one, although on a much smaller scale. All this would not be sufficient evidence to cause me to think—which I do—that Senftenberg received its first and original name from Kommorn, if history did not confirm my belief. History states that the slaves of which the serfs are a part started their operations in this place against the Greek Empire. That was in the sixth century, at the time that the Avars under Chan Bajan forced the servs to leave their homes in the Kommorn, Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia and Servia. They wandered through Jschechia or Bohemia towards Meissen and

into the Lausitz, bringing with them not only the culture which they had acquired during their wars with the Greeks, but also gave to the cities and villages that they founded, the names of those which they had inhabited near the Danube. In our times the British, Spaniards and Germans who emigrated to America did the same. They called the places which they founded in the new world by the names of the cities and towns where they were born, or that were similar in respect to topography.

From Kommorn I wandered towards Ofen, the old capital of the kingdom of Hungary. After I had looked at everything worth seeing in Ofen and had wandered over the plains of Rakosch near the city of Pesth opposite Ofen, I took passage on a vessel bound for the fortress Peterwardein. Very interesting was the voyage down the Danube from Ofen to Peterwardein. From here I started toward Carlowitz, two hours away, which is a very well-built place and gives a beautiful view of Peterwardein. At this place I accepted a position as assistant to a Slavonic surgeon and barber. But I did not enjoy my duties, because in this part of the world the business of a barber is quite different from what it is in our northern countries. I had to travel with my master from one market to the other. He always occupied a stand of his own. We set up a big kettle of hot water and on request from each man, shaved his beard, washed his head, cleaned his ears and anointed his chin whiskers until they shone. For this they had to pay three pennies. Among the common people in these regions it is not the custom to shave each week; never more frequently than four weeks, and often not until eight have passed. Fourteen days later I said good-by to Carlowitz, and traveled through a mountain region to a little market town called Ruma. Here I immediately found work as assistant to a district surgeon. I liked

this place much better, because my duties consisted not only of trimming beards, washing heads and cleaning the ears of farmers, but because I also had an opportunity to perform various surgical operations. My master was superintendent of a hospital in which daily operations, amputations and trepannings were performed. Johannes Leben—that was the name of this district surgeon—was a Catholic, but his wife was Lutheran and a native of the province of Brandenburg. In this situation I decided to remain a long time, partly because I had a chance to gain more experience in my profession, and also because winter was approaching and knowing how hard I was to please, I hesitated to push on farther. The New Year presents that I received from my regular customers among those whom I shaved, amounted to almost twenty gulden. During my sojourn in this place my master died. The village judge, who was a native of Leipzig and a countryman of mine, tried to persuade me to marry the widow. The proposition was not a bad one. I really liked the little woman. She had no children, a comfortable home, a respectable pharmacy and all the surgical instruments necessary to open a practice. Very tempting were the conditions under which I could settle in this place; but I felt that my knowledge of medicine was not sufficient, and my skill in surgery too slight to perform honorably the duties of a surgeon; and chiefly again my restless spirit induced me not to remain there, but to hurry on out into the wide world. Well did I remember the proverb my father used to recite so often: "Fronte capilata post haec occasio calva." (If you make a habit of seizing fortune by the forelock, there will come a time when she will be bald.) But the voice of my inclination counseled me differently. Obedient to it, I said goodby at the first appearance of spring and hurried with a light

heart to Semlin, a big, well-built market town at the junction of the Sau with the Danube. This place also lies opposite the well known Turkish fortress, Belgrade.

I had a great desire to travel from Semlin through Turkey to Constantinople but they persuaded me not to enter Turkey, since traveling in that country, inhabited by barbarians, could not be very safe. And just at that time a plague was sweeping through those parts. Much as I desired to travel to Constantinople, Damascus, Jerusalem and other places, I felt little inclined to have my young life cut short by a plague or a raving Mohammedan. I stamped my feet in rage on the Turkish border, because Asiatic barbarians were in possession of beautiful lands in which the tree of European culture first blossomed so wonderfully, where the human mind first unfolded its powers, where Rome, the mistress of the world, enforced her laws, and to which for many centuries scientists and artists made pilgrimages as to a holy land. At Semlin the world seemed to be nailed up; for no one was allowed to cross the Turkish boundary unless he were willing to run the risk of being held on his return, often as long as seven weeks in quarantine. All the Greek and Turkish merchants crossing the border from Turkey were liable to this inconvenience. In Semlin there were Turkish merchants besides Christian and Jewish. So it happened that in each week, three Sundays were celebrated: Friday, the holy day of the Turks, Saturday, the Sabbath of the Jews, and the following day was observed as Sunday by the Christians. Decidedly against my inclinations, I had to take backward steps from Semlin. Near Belgrade, I crossed the Danube, and after seeing the Janitschar parading around the fortifications, I went on to Banzowa a small town with good, solidly-built houses and very well protected by walls and sentry boxes.

I took lodgings in an inn, to have my noonday meal and to pick up a traveling companion, since it was very dangerous to travel alone in these regions. But aside from the people who kept the inn, I saw no one but a man reading a book. I was very curious to know what the book might be that he was perusing so diligently, and after he had left the room, I picked it up and saw at a glance that it was the New Testament. Before I could lay the volume back on the table the man entered the room again, and asked me in Slavic if I knew what book that was.

Since I had been an assistant to a Slavic surgeon and had had a chance to learn the language, which is somewhat similar to Wendish, I answered, "yes." So I was obliged to read a chapter of the New Testament to this man, who was a Greek merchant. He was greatly pleased, and started a conversation with me. After I had disclosed to him my intention to travel to Siebenbuergen, he said that his residence lay in the same direction and offered me a seat in his carriage and also to pay my expenses, which courtesy I accepted with many thanks. Furthermore he promised to do his best to get me a position in his home city, saying that there was a German district surgeon in charge of the big hospital.

This gentleman lived up to his promise. I secured a position in his native city. After I had remained there for half a year, had witnessed many surgical operations and gained much experience on the medical side of my profession, I resigned and continued my way to Siebenbuergen. During this journey, I passed at one time a village inhabited by Wallachs. The houses were the shape of sugar loaves and were built of turf and clay. Instead of windows, these dwellings had openings over which oiled paper was pasted. In the middle of these habitations burned a fire around which the in-

habitants were grouped. I entered one of these places and asked for refreshment. They gave me a long-handled gourd filled with very strong brandy made of unripe plums and other fruits. I took a big drink from the vessel and very soon felt a burning in my stomach. I complained of the pain, and they gave me half a watermelon to extinguish the fire in my vitals. The watermelon, which was blood-red inside, was very cooling and I found it more palatable than the sugar melon common with us in Germany. Finally I arrived at the fortress Temeswar, surrounded by wastes and swamps, and at least for the Germans that emigrated to this part of the country, not very salubrious. I found that out myself. Not long after my arrival I came down with an intermittent fever from which I suffered four weeks. At this place I decided not to go on to Siebenbuergen, and following the advice of the surgeon who looked after me during my illness, returned to Ofen and to Vienna, passing through the German Empire towards the cities on the North Sea where surgeons are always in demand, especially for boats bound for the East Indies and America. My passage to Ofen did not cost me a cent. I fell in with a military transport and marched with the soldiers to Ofen. I felt as if I were coming home on my arrival in this city. Although Ofen is thirty-six miles away from Vienna, the splendid King's Highway starts here. The villages are not so far apart and the Hungarians are much more civilized than the Wallachs.

I stayed only one day in Vienna, afraid that the same misfortune that marked my first visit in the city might happen to me again. Through the lovely, romantic regions of Lower Austria I hurried to Regensburg, where I received some assistance and where I remained only four weeks. Here I was, however, put to the necessity of selling all my books containing the medical and sur-

gical notes that I had collected during my practice. I traveled from Regensburg to Stuttgard and Ludwigslust in Wuertenberg. Here I met a relative of mine who was a wigmaker and who wanted to teach me his noble art. I refused his offer, left him after a few days, and went to Rastadt, which is now the German fortress Landau.

From thence I went to Mannheim, beautifully laid out and consistently built. After I had visited Frankfort-on-Main, I traveled through Hessia, to Hildesheim, to Hanover and Bremen. I could not get a position in any one of these cities. Therefore I decided to go seafaring. With this determination I started for Stade and Buxtehude, where I passed over the river to Hamburg. I remained in Hamburg several days. On one occasion I took a walk outside the walls and ascended the so-called Hamburger Mountain. At the foot of this mountain I saw nearby a beautiful city. This Danish Hamburg was Altona. During this walk I met some men who must have remarked that I was a stranger. They asked me where I came from and what profession I followed. When I told them I was from Saxony, they exclaimed, seeming greatly pleased: "From Saxony! What city is your home? Not Dresden or Leipzig? We too are from Saxony and are therefore your countrymen!" They listened attentively to the story of my life, and when they heard that I was tired of my wanderings on land, and that I had been unable to find a position for some time, their faces seemed to mirror some secret joy. After they had become acquainted with the facts of my history, they cut me off in the middle of a sentence and said: "But why do you run around blindly? You will find that you will hardly be able to get a position in Hamburg or in Altona. Come with us to Altona. We will drink a bottle of wine there, have some breakfast and talk matters over." The pretended countrymen

assured me that they were overjoyed to have met a Saxon and without my solicitation promised to look after my interests. After we had reached the wine cellar, they ordered bread, butter and cold roast and turned the conversation to the East and West Indies. When they heard that I had desired for a long time to visit these happy places, and that it was one of my cherished wishes to obtain a position as ship's surgeon, they promised immediately to give me a recommendation to their good friend, a ship's captain in Amsterdam, who surely would be able to procure me the desired position. They also promised to pay my passage to Amsterdam and my board. The same day I received from my alleged countrymen all that was necessary. They gave me a good dinner of roast veal and brought me aboard the ship that was to sail to Amsterdam. There were on the deck of this ship about fifty young men and women who, influenced by pretended friendly countrymen, had decided to go to the East and West Indies; and all of whom had been recommended to their good friend just as I had been. It was then that I understood that I had been lured on board this ship by notorious slavers and so-called soul-venders, and why they had rejoiced as soon as they knew that I desired to go to the East Indies or to America. It was quite necessary in those days to keep on the lookout for such men in the Hansa cities. Many young men and young women were persuaded by them to go on a search in foreign parts of the world for a fortune that they could have found just as well or even better at home. Although I now knew that my pretended countrymen had no honest intentions towards me, and that while showing me affection and love, they had been working only for the money they received from the shippers of human freight or dealers in human flesh to be delivered in Amsterdam, I

felt no decided rancor against them, because I desired so much to seek my fortune in another part of the world, and because it was through these people that I had secured my promise to be made surgeon of the ship. The next morning the vessel put out to sea. I thought of my parents and my brothers and sisters, calling farewell to them in spirit. With a favorable wind, after three days, we reached Amsterdam. When the ship landed, the dealers in humankind came forward. One took in charge ten, another twenty and another thirty. Myself with many others, they led along several streets to a house in which we were placed in company with perhaps one hundred apprentices. They welcomed us joyfully with the question: "Were we, too, going to East India?" In this lock-up we had everything we wanted. We received in the morning buttermilk soup, at noonday meat with vegetables, and in the evening soup again. At night we slept in hammocks in which we could rock like a child in a cradle. These hammocks were given to us by the slavers with a purpose. The swaying of the hammocks was intended to accustom us to the rocking of the boat. It can be easily understood that this dormitory resounded with lively talk, since all of us were young, healthy men expecting to acquire riches and treasure on the other side of the ocean. One fell out of his hammock, because the old rope with which it was fastened, broke. Another ascended without suspicion his pendulous bed, but fell to the floor very soon because a mischievous neighbor had cut the cords which held it up. Nothing else was wanted here by the young people but golden liberty, and even of this we were not robbed altogether. Every day we were led, by two and two, from the city to the neighborhood of the windmills, where we could play ball under the supervision of our guards, or could pass the time according to

our liking. At sunset, however, we had to march back in the prescribed order, and were locked up in the big room. As little as I believed in the highmindedness of the slavers, I must confess to their credit that they did all in their power to place us each according to our liking. Thus they tried very hard to have me appointed as ship's surgeon. They registered me at the East Indian House as a surgeon. Immediately I received beautiful clothes to wear, and a silver time-piece, and was ordered to report for examination. But I am sorry to say, I came too late. Another had already been accepted. The boats bound for the East Indies had all sailed for this season. I was advised there would be no more call this year for surgeons on the East Indian ships. I returned sadly to my lock-up, took off my nice uniform and my silver watch, and at the orders of the master, donned again my old clothes.

A few days later the master entered our room and exclaimed: "Boys, there is one ship more leaving port, bound for America. It is a wonderful country, where gold grows and pearl fisheries abound. And moreover, it is not as far as the East Indies. My son was there only three years, and made so much money that after his return he bought a house for himself here in Amsterdam. Of course you will have to work one or two years without receiving any salary, in order to pay for your board and transportation; but after that you will be free. You may go wherever you please and earn daily two or three dollars, doing quite easy tasks, such as loading and unloading ships. And naturally if you have a profession you can practise it just as you please."

Shortly after this discourse of our master, we all, weary of this life without liberty, decided to emigrate to America. We were shipped immediately in big boats to Rotterdam, where we received an excellent noonday

meal and as much wine as we wanted; perhaps to give us courage. Then we were taken to a great three-masted schooner that lay at anchor in the river Meuve. On board this boat, there had already been gathered about three hundred persons, mostly handcraftsmen and young women clothed in blue striped linen dresses. We too were provided on the spot with jackets, shirts and trousers of the same color. The following day our ship started with a favoring wind towards England. In a few days we reached the channel that divides England from France and unites the North or German Sea with the Atlantic Ocean. We anchored near Dover, which is an unimportant city and has a fortress in which there are generally Crown prisoners incarcerated. This city is noteworthy chiefly because of the short passage thence to Calais in France. Ships were constantly coming and going. We remained here only one night, and sailed on the following day to Portsmouth, which is a fortified city with an excellent harbor in which were to be seen several English war vessels. Our ship rode at anchor here for a few days, and took in fresh meat and fresh beer. The vessel was also visited by commissioners who examined everything and registered the entire ship's crew. The sails were repaired and everything examined and put in condition necessary for a trip across the Atlantic Ocean. One evening after everything was in readiness, we set sail for America. But we had proceeded only a few days westward when there sprang up an unfavorable wind that drove our ship now this way and now that. As a result the greater part of the ship's crew became violently ill; even the captain himself vomited constantly like the rest of us, and almost threw up his intestines. This sickness, caused by the constant rolling of the ship, lasted with some for eight days. After we had recovered, food began to

taste all the better, we were merry; we sang and whistled. This care-free life was interrupted by a little storm that broke over us, and was so severe that it tore away the railing of the deck and the private chambers fastened to it. The loss of these was hard on all of us; especially on the women. For they, while performing the duties of nature, had to forego all sense of shame. Each one, when one wished to relieve oneself, must hold to the ship's rope with one hand, while with the other, hold one's clothes over one's head and let oneself be splashed by the brine whenever the waves ran high enough. Mentioning this indecency forced upon us by necessity, I wish to speak about a far more serious and deplorable custom which was permitted on this transportation boat. Men and women did not sleep in separate cabins; the sixty girls were distributed among the three hundred men in their quarters. It can be easily understood how wide, under these circumstances, the doors of immorality were opened. I see tears in the eyes of the angel of innocence and he covers his face. Perhaps such reprehensible practices are no longer in force on transport ships, and should they be, I wish that the philanthropic statesman of Holland, the noble-minded Baron of Gagern, might succeed in ending them. I would advise unmarried women who have not the means to take quarters in the Captain's cabin, not even to enter a ship. Their innocence is much more in danger than on land. Some one may bring up the question: Why did the captain permit persons of different sexes to spend the night together on his ship? Oh! If I did not have to answer that a pernicious, unpardonable love of money, the root of all evil, was at the bottom of this! Of course, the ship's captain could expect to receive for a woman who was with child a greater amount of money upon landing in America. Many

of the girls on board died a frightful death before the ship landed. Once they contracted the loathsome disease, by some called the "gallant" one, they usually met their cruel end. This will surprise no one who knows the character of this terrible disease and the conditions necessary for its cure. The treatment of this disease calls specifically for fresh nourishing food, pure air and good nursing. All of these are lacking on board a ship. The women worst infected were taken into a separate cabin under the capstan, where they died in unutterable misery. No one came near this spot unless obliged to, because of the horrible odor that prevailed there. The deceased were sewed up in a piece of sail cloth, a bag filled with sand was tied to the feet, and they were buried in the waves of the sea. Usually the bodies thrown into the water were immediately claimed as prey by the big fish. The captain found that if a number of these fish were swimming near the ship in the morning, he might conclude that corpses had been thrown overboard in the night. After some time, I had a very violent fever that, as my companions told me, brought me very near death.

I suffered utter delirium, and the surgeon was obliged to let blood from both my arms of which I knew nothing. Of this attack I remember naught save the torture like the suffering of the damned that I saw constantly in my dreams. After I had recovered my mental balance, I often prayed with all my soul for the forgiveness of my trespasses and sins. I was quite aware that I had not respected the commands of our holy God.

By the help of God I soon recovered fully. Our progress was very slow as we had most of the time winds from the wrong direction. Since our departure from the English coast, fifteen weeks had passed, while we were on the high seas and without sight of any land.

Then our ship's captain, determining the longitude at noon in bright sunlight with his instruments, announced that we would sight the dry land of America within twenty-four hours. His prediction was fulfilled on the following day. Every one shouted with joy at the sight of the American coast. Already we saw coming towards us from shore, pilots and tugs to guide us past the shoals. It was a windless, murky August day. The sea shone like a great clear mirror framed in the coast of America; hardly a breath of air rippled the water's surface but a countless multitude of fishes could be seen playing around the boat. Even the monsters of the deep raised their huge awkward bodies close to the surface with an undulating motion, and then sank again to the black depths where they belonged, and then the captain said to us: "Children, pray, we are going to have a storm." Soon we heard a distant rumbling; the sun began to darken; everything on the boat was in the greatest commotion in which many human voices mingled; with all possible speed the seamen furled the sails and bound them fast. The American pilots turned and hurried with their little boats coastward. The hatches were closed and over them were nailed pieces of strong canvas soaked in tar. Ever stronger and more terrifying became the roaring of the hurricane. Like black, forbidding chains of mountains we saw the waves piled up by the storm bearing down upon us. The lightning tore through the frightfully black heavens and the thunder roared. Suddenly the ship flew like a ball, now among the clouds, and now as swift as an arrow, into the trough of the sea. All around powerful bolts of lightning fell into a fearfully raging sea, and the thunder exploded with terrific report. In inexpressible rage the waves beat against the ship, or coming from opposite directions collided with each other above the decks.

Every minute was as if we were suffering the most terrific bombardment. Every one was praying, and even the nefarious and the God-forsaken, of which there were plenty on board the ship, folded their hands as the Lord of the worlds spoke to them through the heart-crushing voice of the elements.

As the sun on the following day scattered his rays over a quiet sea, I, with many others, in prayer and song, thanked the Lord who helps, and even in the mercy of His judgment, saves from death. Oh, how unworthy of His grace were the most of us on board that ship! Our eyes could no longer see the coast of America, so longed for and so joyfully hailed. The drinking water became scarce, and for this reason we did not receive more than half a measure of water daily. Besides, this had a very unpleasant smell and tasted like ink. Notwithstanding, they fed us day after day with salted meat that increased our thirst. We received cheese on certain days. In need of more fluid, I gladly exchanged as did many others, my portion of cheese for half a measure of water.

To prevent myself from drinking more water than absolutely necessary to quench the thirst from which I constantly suffered, I stuck a quill through the cork of the water bottle and drew in the fluid slowly. Not only did this portion of water that we received not suffice to quench our thirst, but it was also needed to soften the ship's biscuit, to cook the peas, the oatmeal, and the meat. The bread that we received was so hard that an axe was required to break it, and it looked green and yellow inside. The peas were only half cooked and were very difficult to digest. We liked best the oat-meal rations. It can easily be seen why we desired even more than ever to reach dry land, and why we were more than happy when we sighted it for the second

time, after a lapse of three long weeks. Again the pilots that we had seen once before came toward us in their little boats, and this time guided us successfully into the great arm of the sea leading to Philadelphia, called Delaware Bay, which is eighty miles long and three miles wide. But yet eight days passed before we reached Philadelphia, because the ship could proceed only very slowly on account of the current of the Delaware. We anchored amid stream in the river and took delight in gazing at the great beautiful city of Philadelphia. On the following day, we were led to a building in the city, where we took the oath of allegiance to King George III. of England, under whose control at that time the North American territory was. As we put our feet on land, on coming from the ship, the earth seemed to sway beneath us and we staggered like drunken men. But this condition lasted for only a quarter of an hour. Philadelphia is very beautiful and built with nearly the same regularity as Mannheim; but is much larger. The number of houses at that time in the city was estimated at six thousand and it was said that forty thousand people lived in them. Now the city is said to have fourteen thousand houses and more than ninety thousand inhabitants. It is situated at the confluence of the Schuylkill and the Delaware rivers. The streets run in straight lines from the water front and are called by numbers, as First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh Street. These streets intersect King's and Market Streets. The latter is broad and has fine, massive arcades under which the merchants offer their wares. This street is similar to the Muehlendamm in Berlin. On both sides of this thoroughfare carriages can be driven without hitting each other, and during rainy weather it is possible to walk past the houses on dry cobble stones, under balconies. There

are more than twenty churches here, in which the inhabitants belonging to different religious sects worship in their own way the unseen, perfect Creator of all things whom we call God. Whoever sees in this place the churches of many different religious sects, among which even Anabaptists and Universalists, and who listens to services here in English, there in German, here in Swedish, there in French, must confess that this city has been rightly called the City of Brotherly Love. Among other things worth seeing are the well-equipped workhouse and reformatory, with which are connected a lying-in hospital, an orphans' asylum and an infirmary. This house is massively built and has in the center a paved court where the prisoners can take exercise. The prisons are paved, kept clean and furnished with the necessary windows. Beautiful boulevards are laid out around the city, and not very far away little groves of chestnut and other nut trees afford refreshing shade. Near Philadelphia is situated Germantown, a little city mostly inhabited by Germans, who make their living mainly by building carriages and weaving linen. Many Germans also live in Lancaster, where they engage in manufacture, principally of woolen and cotton cloth.

After we had taken the oath of allegiance to the king of England, we were obliged to return to the boat. Shortly after, an announcement could have been read not only on the street corners of Philadelphia, but also in the American newspapers: "That a boat at present lying in the harbor of Philadelphia had arrived from Europe carrying a load of male and female persons, and that whoever might wish to purchase some of them, was invited to visit the boat." Shortly afterwards, professional men arrived from the cities and owners of plantations from the country, who bargained with the ship's captain for our persons. We had to strip naked,

so that the prospective purchasers could see that we had perfectly developed and healthy bodies. After the purchaser had made a selection, he asked: "How much is this boy or this girl?" Many strong and healthy young men, and especially the pregnant women brought as much as sixty pounds sterling ($300.00). Some of my companions had to serve ten, twelve, or even more years without receiving anything more than their board and clothes. This amount of money was received by the captain in payment for our transportation to America and for our board. The length of service was according to the price. After these aliens had worked for the time required, they received a certificate of freedom. Then they had to decide whether they would hire themselves out or start in business on their own account. These servants were not given wholly over to the discretion of their masters, but were still to some extent under the protection of the law; and the only difference between them and free citizens was that for the specified time, they could not work for themselves. So it is easily seen that the conditions under which we had to labor after our arrival in North America were in no way a formal and life-long slavery, and that we could have gone immediately about our own business, had we been in the position to pay the ship's captain what we owed him. Even now, as I am informed, the poor European arrivals in North America have to work out the cost of their transportation after they land there; but they are no longer exposed to the whims and avarice of ship's captains, as previously. In latter times, the Baron of Gagern, known as a wise and philanthropic man, did very much to ameliorate the conditions of immigrants, and in Philadelphia there exists at this time a humanitarian society for their assistance.

Soon the persons that composed the load of our ship

were all sold except six boys, among whom was myself. They, like myself, were unwilling to consent to a long term of service. This made the ship's captain wild with anger and he threatened, if we refused again to take service in America under his conditions, to carry us to the Antilles, especially to Barbadoes, where the heat is unbearable and where we would have to work with negroes. We realized that we would gain nothing by a trip to the West Indies, where our miserable fate would become even more intolerable, and that there was no salvation from the power of the ship's captain; so we resolved to work out the cost of transportation in the climate of Philadelphia. The captain asked for me thirty pounds sterling and I had to bind myself for the term of six years to the master or overseer that paid this amount of money. The master who paid this money for me— *about one hundred and fifty dollars*— was the owner of a plantation in the province of New Jersey, and a member of the religious sect of the Quakers. I dined excellently with my new master in Philadelphia, and we drank a bowl of punch. Later we crossed the Delaware in a skiff and stopped at an inn. He had left his horse here, and as he expected to leave shortly, he directed me to proceed through a beautiful oak forest, promising to overtake me a little later, on horseback. I kept to the direction he had given me, and arrived at a fruit orchard where mainly apple trees were growing. I sprang over the fence of the orchard and gathered up a number of the apples lying there and which tasted very good; then continued on my way. In the meantime it had grown dark and my master was nowhere in sight.

Shortly after, I espied a light in a little house which I approached. The family sat around the table eating their evening meal. They soon discovered that I came

from the boat and opened up a conversation with me; but as they spoke English, I was unable to understand them. They urged me to take a place with them at the table, and gave me a little bowl of Turkish wheat meal with milk and bread; on the table lay a big cheese, from which I was permitted to cut a little piece for myself. After half an hour had passed, some one knocked at the window. This was my master, who though somewhat far gone in liquor, was glad to catch up with me here. I was immediately ordered to get up on the saddle behind him, and in this fashion he galloped with me to his plantation. As we pulled up in front of his house, there appeared promptly a boy who took the horse from him and led it to a stall. I entered the living room with him, where his wife and children were sitting in front of a big fireplace. They have no stoves in this part of America, but content themselves with great open fires in chimneyplaces, over which are suspended big iron kettles. In these they cook their food, throwing in great pieces of beef, sometimes weighing six and eight pounds. In another kettle they cook in this fashion entire heads of cabbage and whole turnips, and later bring them to the table, where each may take from any of the kinds of food whatever he desires. Also each one is invited to take as much as he wishes from an enormous cheese, often weighing as much as thirty pounds. At breakfast and supper they eat usually a mush made of Turkish wheat meal which is also cooked in a kettle suspended in the fireplace. Each receives with this a little bowl of milk, and there is always a great piece of meat or the cheese on the table, of which one may eat to his satisfaction. I drank only a little water, but a good deal of cider or apple wine. Each plantation has on it an orchard that sometimes requires half an hour to walk around, and that bears an immense

amount of fruit, a part of which is used to make this delicious, healthful apple wine. In these orchards the trees are usually planted twenty steps apart and grow magnificently. In the open spaces between the fruit trees, they grow all kinds of grain, that flourishes just as well as if the trees were not there. It is unbelievable what profits the growing of fruit trees brings in America. And when I see here in our own country large gardens and wide pastures without even a single fruit tree, I always regret that fruit culture is not more carefully followed. The farmers here who generally have plenty of land could do a great deal for the improvement of their farms if they would devote even half an acre to the growing of fruit trees. I know a very sensible farmer who, from a comparatively small piece of land on which twenty years ago he planted fruit trees that demand no care, now receives the amount of his taxes and all the fruit that he can use for himself from this orchard. The objection that if each farmer owned his own orchard, the fruit would not sell so advantageously as at the present time, is valid. Of course this cannot be denied; but notwithstanding, fruit growing will become sometime a very important and most useful part of the farming industry, if it is managed properly. Fruit is not only a pleasant and healthful food when cooked, but it also sells well as the base of the manufacture of good wine, vinegar, syrup and brandy; and besides the cuttings can be used for feeding cattle. And that the ground around the trees can be utilized for the growing of other products, I have seen proved in America.

During the harvests, the owners of neighboring plantations assist each other in cutting the grain, so that usually in a single day an entire crop of some sort is gathered. After the grain is cut it is bound immediately into little bundles and stacked up in shocks just as is

done with hemp in our country. There they leave it until it dries. Even in rainy weather I never saw the grain sprout because it is so placed in these shocks that the heads are exposed to the air. After the harvesters are through with the gathering of the grain they eat and drink mightily, and after that have dances.

Before I begin to relate my own affairs and the duties of my service and what happened to me during this time, I would like to make a few observations about the provinces of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, so that the reader can have some idea about the places where I spent the first years of my sojourn in America. Pennsylvania, which was named by the Englishman, William Penn, who with a few of his sect made a settlement in its forests, is a great stretch of land larger than one half the Prussian empire and in about the same latitude as Spain. But the climate is similar to that of our country, because the land is not entirely under cultivation; but it is gradually growing warmer as the clearing of the forests and the cultivation of the fields progress. This province is drained by three big rivers, the Delaware, on which is situated the capital, Philadelphia; the Susquehanna, and the Ohio. It produces a quantity of grain, flax, hemp, and wax and breeds cattle extensively. There are large oak and nut forests. The nuts are not so large as our walnuts and have a thinner shell, so that they can be cracked easily with strong teeth. There is also a stony kind of nut. This serves as food for the pigs that are running wild in the forests. These pigs, after being marked on the ears, are allowed to run wild in the summer time and in the fall are captured again. Each proprietor can recognize his own stock from the brand on their ears. Vines grow wild here and climb up the trees; especially the sassafras, which grows in great abundance.

The province of New Jersey is much smaller than Pennsylvania, but is still larger than the kingdom of Saxony at present. This province also is under very good cultivation. They grow here much grain, flax, fruits, and potatoes. They have many cattle, and timber is in abundance. Among the different kinds of wood the cedar especially drew my attention. These cedars are over a hundred feet high; they grow only from the tops, where spring the new branches, looking in shape and size like great brooms on which are hanging red berries. These trees stand so close to each other that it is very hard to pass between them. The timber is beautiful and so very light that it is possible to carry on one's shoulder a log ten yards long and half a yard in circumference. This wood is used for building purposes and for the manufacture of shingles, with which most of the houses in this province are covered. Both provinces, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, have a very mild and pleasant climate. The work that I had to perform on the New Jersey plantation near the Pennsylvania border, was as follows: I had to get up at daybreak, and carry a great log of wood four to five feet long to the fireplace, which measured six feet. Then I placed small split wood under the log and kindled a flame by means of which the log was ignited. Soon the room was warm. Later I proceeded to feed the cattle, consisting of ten to fifteen head of horses, fifty to sixty cows and oxen, and more than a hundred hogs. The latter were mostly fattened on Turkish wheat. After they were sufficiently heavy, they were slaughtered, sometimes ten in one day. After being stuck, they were allowed to run about the yard until they were fully bled and fell dead. After a number had been slaughtered in this way, the carcasses were scalded, hung up and the intestines removed and buried. Sau-

sages were not made. On the following day, we took the dressed hogs to Philadelphia, where we sold them to the meat dealers, who salt the meat and send shiploads of pork and flour to the West Indian islands, receiving in exchange West Indian products such as coffee, sugar and indigo. The horned cattle remain in summer and winter in the fields and pastures. In the winter I often had to go for half an hour in the deep snow to feed the cattle. Here and there were to be found immense haystacks around which high fences were built against which leaned a ladder that I had to ascend in order to cut the fodder with my long curved knife. I took from the haystacks each time only as much as I needed to feed at that time, throwing it over the fence to the beasts that were waiting outside. If a cow was with calf she was driven home with the other cows that were to be milked. All the milk was put into big copper kettles; and the butter and cheese made from it were sold. In the outhouse of the home of my master was a cheese press which always contained two big cheeses of thirty to forty pounds each in a cylinder which was perforated with holes and had two iron clamps. After the cattle were fed, I went to breakfast, to which we were called about eight o'clock by the blowing of a big conch. Each of the servants received a can of milk, mush of Turkish wheat flour and a piece of salted veal. At noon we had warm meat with whole turnips or cabbage heads, of which each could eat as much as he chose; or we had peas, lentils or other vegetables. The supper was like the breakfast. When I was not occupied with the cattle, I had to do other kinds of work. Principally I had to plow the fields to make the uncultivated land arable. My master was a Quaker and on Sundays I frequently attended the religious meetings of the Quakers with him and his family. This christian religious sect originated

in the seventeenth century in England, deriving its name from "to quake," which means to tremble, and has many members at present in America. The Quakers or Tremblers have no pastors; but the old and experienced of both sexes deliver lectures during their religious meetings, when they feel incited by inner promptings of the soul. In their meeting-houses they never sing, but pray silently until an old man or woman, led by the spirit, rises and delivers a sermon on some passage of the Old Testament. These declamations are often very pathetic and are listened to reverently, since Quakers in their places of worship are generally very devout. After the services, having been without any ceremonies and lasting two hours, are finished, the men and the women shake hands and leave the place of assembly. The Quakers here, men and women, ride on horseback to their meeting-house, tie the horses in front of the church, which is situated in a little forest, and after their common worship of God return immediately to their homes. I had a horse at my disposal each Sunday in order to reach the church. Besides other distinguishing marks of the Quakers, it must be remembered that they call every one "thou," that they never remove their hats, not even in the presence of the king, and that they, according to Matthew 5:35-37, never take an oath. They ought not to swear, either, but my master, who was a very violent man and spoke a little German, swore not infrequently, especially when he was drunk. Only too often, if he were not satisfied with his servants, did he utter the resounding and terrible English curse: "God damn your soul!" Although I wanted for nothing in the employ of my master, as can be seen by my narrative, I still longed for freedom and for my fatherland. One Sunday I received permission to visit the Protestant church in Philadelphia. There

I met a group of German servants who were having a very bad time at the hands of their masters. They tried to persuade me to run away with them to find a European boat that would take us back to Europe. At first I hesitated at carrying out the plans they had confided to me, but finally I promised to participate in the undertaking. To this conclusion I was brought mainly by a negress who encountered us by chance and who offered to read my future life in the lines of my palm. I held my hand out to her, and learned from the black woman that I should be a soldier and should be wounded. Not to hear more of what lay in store for me, I tore my hand away from the fortune-teller, and decided on the spot to escape the fate of the prophecy by flight and the longed-for return to Europe. I conferred with my companions as to the time chosen for running away, and went home. At the appointed day I left my master, just as they did and met them by moonlight at the place we had agreed upon. Immediately we started on our way; but after a march of about two hours we came to a river that was so wide and deep that we could not ford it. Thereupon we walked along the river bank, hoping to find a skiff. We actually did find boats tied near a plantation and unloosing them, we crossed the river. We were very glad to have the river behind us, and went on as fast as we could. At daybreak we lay down in a forest and now sleeping and now awake, awaited the fall of night in which we could continue our journey. We satisfied our hunger with food found here and there in the fields, and which we cooked in the middle of the forest. In this manner, we had travelled about three hundred English miles, and had just arrived in the province of Virginia, when we were discovered by bloodhounds, captured, and immediately put under custody. Our masters had advertised our

flight in the newspapers, and had offered considerable rewards for our recovery.

For my capture a reward of five pounds (more than thirty dollars) was offered. Those who found us immediately informed our masters of our arrest, but three weeks elapsed before instructions for our return arrived. During this time we had to sit in the prison. One morning I was summoned and immediately led to another house where some gentlemen were convened. One of them approached me and asked if I would like to return to New Jersey to my master. He said he had orders to pay everything, and to bring me back to him again.

I was glad that my master desired to have me return, because I did not like it in Virginia, where the servants had to work with negroes, and had only two meals a day. I would doubtless have been sold to a Virginia plantation owner, had I refused to go back to New Jersey. But under the circumstances this never entered my head and I promised immediately to accompany the emissary of my master. He, a ship's captain, paid my expenses and I followed him to his vessel lying in the Potomac River. With a favoring wind we set sail. We came to Chesapeake Bay and thence through Delaware Bay to Philadelphia, where my master was waiting for me. I was afraid he would afflict me with a load of curses; but he received me very kindly, and told me that he knew I was persuaded by the others to run away, but that I should not have yielded to the temptations of these companions, but should have waited until my term of service had expired; that later he would have given me a certificate of freedom which would have opened for me the doors of all America. After I had promised him that I would never run away again, and would serve him sincerely in the future, he ordered me

to mount behind him and we arrived home astride the same horse's back. Here I had a very friendly reception from the wife and the daughters of my master; they seemed confident that I had not run away because of ill treatment on their part, but had yielded to the persuasion of my partners in wrong-doing. After serving my master two years longer, diligently and honorably, and not being badly treated by him, I brought upon myself quite innocently his ill will. One morning I was plowing a piece of unbroken land with another servant, a Swiss boy of about fourteen years, who was driving the oxen for me. I had the misfortune to run the plow against a large root of a tree, breaking the implement, which was a new one. We placed the broken plow on a wagon and drove home. My master who had observed from a distance what had happened to the new plow, met me with the frightful curse: "God damn your soul and your brain!," ordered me to unyoke the oxen, and to come to breakfast.

When we were seated ar the table, my master began to curse again, and looked at me with angry eyes. His gestures and his curses, which I fully understood, since I had learned the English language fairly well during my three years' stay in America, seemed to me ridiculous, and I could not keep from showing amusement at his expressions of rage. No sooner did my master become aware of this than he gave me such a box on the ear that the blood sprang from my nose and mouth as if from a fountain. Instantly I sprang up from the table to the door, and said that I would go immediately to the judge and complain of him, knowing well that the loss he had suffered did not permit such treatment of servants. I had hardly finished saying this when my master leaped from his seat and made an attempt to catch hold of me. I succeeded in escaping, but turning

around after a few steps, I saw that he had a gun in his hands and was aiming at me; but his wife and the children seized him to prevent his committing a crime. A few leaps took me beyond the range of his rifle and into the security of the forest. As soon as I knew myself to be in safety, I hurried to a German cooper who was living about a mile from the plantation of my master. To him I related what had happened, and asked him to show me the way to the judge, which he accordingly did. I had to tell the judge, whom I approached with a bloody and swollen face, all that had occurred in detail. Having done so, I expressed the desire to be sold to another planter as I could no longer repose confidence in or feel affection for my old master.

Thereupon the judge took a seat at his writing desk and wrote a letter to my master; sealed it and gave it to me with the order that I should go home again and deliver the letter in person. And he assured me that my master would never again raise his hand against me. It was Saturday and very late when I came home. My master, who had ridden in pursuit of me, came home after midnight and on his arrival asked the young Swiss, who looked after his horse, if I had come back. Upon this question being answered in the affirmative, he retired. I knew by his voice that he was intoxicated. On the following day after I had fed the cattle and had entered the house, my master, who was sitting near the fireplace, asked me to shave him. He also asked me very gravely if he could trust himself to me. I replied that he must not be afraid, as I had never in my life done evil to any one, and he would be the last person that I would want to harm. I shaved him, and when I had finished, I handed him the letter of the judge. After he had read it through, he was terribly angry, swore terrifically and went into another room; but came

back soon with a threat that he would provide me with another master who would let me know what a servant was much better than he had done; and gave me the order to saddle his horse and bring it around. After I had carried out his orders, he galloped away and did not come home until long after midnight, very drunk. On the following morning I arose as usual very early and fed the cattle. After I came to breakfast, he asked me if I wished to remain in his service. I gave a negative answer, and expressed the wish to be sold to another master. He then said that I would often think of him when I had fallen into the hands of a man worse than he. After a while a gentleman arrived on horseback, and a boy with a yoke of oxen followed him. I knew instantly that the stranger was to be my future master and the oxen were the price for my person. And as a matter of fact, I was given over to the stranger in exchange for the pair of oxen.

Little did those who hung in solicitude over my cradle dream of the fate that awaited me on the other side of the Atlantic! But I could not remonstrate against the trading of the two gentlemen.

My new master was proprietor of an inn situated about a mile from the plantation of the gentleman I had served until now. He also was a lieutenant of the militia. His name was Abraham Eldrige. After I had thanked my former master for all the good that I had enjoyed at his hands, I followed my new keeper to his home. According to the prophecy of my former master, I was to have a much worse time here than with him; but I had every reason to be satisfied with my present situation. Notwithstanding the fact that my master was a very violent-tempered man, he was not a victim of the disgraceful drinking habit as was the man I first served. I filled the position of a porter in his inn, a

sort of roadhouse on the way to Philadelphia. This position, which was not a congenial one to me, was nevertheless at this time particularly remunerative. For the North American struggle for independence had broken out, and troops of soldiers and their officers travelled along this highway. The latter gave me for the care of their horses, sometimes small, sometimes large sums of money, sometimes as much as a dollar, and in a short time I was able to save a rather respectable amount of money.

At that time there was current in Pennsylvania a good deal of paper money. Each piece bore on one side the name of the United States and the value of the bill; on the other the notice that the penalty for counterfeiting this bill was loss of life. Also there were whole and half coins of Spanish silver money, which were often chopped into four and sometimes into eight pieces. These pieces were used as change and business currency. It is well known that with the English army which fought the American insurgents there were connected Hessian auxiliary troops, many of whom deserted. From these deserters I gained much information as to how far away the English and Hessian forces were from the place where I was staying, and how great were their numbers. I learned this with the end in view, if the occasion arose, to join the army and to return with it, after the war was over, to my fatherland, for which I grew constantly more homesick.

But when I considered the danger which threatened me should I be captured by the Americans after I had gone over to the English and the Hessians, I gave up each time my secretly cherished plans, and decided at least to wait a little longer before trying to realize my desires.

About this time, I received on request, permission

from my master to go to Philadelphia to attend the Lutheran church. At this period in Philadelphia, Major von Ortendorff, who had fought in the armies of Frederick the Great during the Seven Years' War in Germany, was forming under the direction of the commander-in-chief of the American army, a corps of volunteers. Moreover in his proclamation, which was sanctioned by the United States, German servants were invited to join the corps, but on the condition that these servants should make an agreement with their masters that these masters should receive during their servants' term of service a part of the pay. The United States promised the German servants who were willing to bear arms in the cause of the liberation of America, thirteen acres of government land free of charge, to be taken possession of as soon as peace was declared.

I was persuaded to enter this volunteer corps, and although I was less concerned about the freedom of North America than about my own, and though I longed for my fatherland, still when I saw the great enthusiasm for the cause of freedom manifested in Philadelphia, I straightway forgot Germany and the plans for my own freedom, took service in Major Ortendorff's corps and received my twenty dollars earnest money. While I remained in Philadelphia, one of the men of the corps was sent with a letter to my master requesting him to come to headquarters in order to make arrangements with the commander of the corps for my enlistment. My master, who, as I have mentioned before, was a lieutenant of the militia, was very happy on the following day when he saw me in the blue uniform with the green collar and cuffs, and wished me good luck in my new profession. However, he demanded that I pay him every month for twenty months one pound sterling out of my wages, and although I ap-

preciated that he was asking far too much, I consented. As the corps of Ortendorff had reached the number of three hundred, we marched to join the great North American army which was under the command of General Washington. The service of this corps was very hard. As we received no tents, we were obliged to build huts for ourselves out of boughs. We had to serve as outposts for the main army, and were obliged to patrol all night long. We also had to forage for cattle to be slaughtered for the use of the soldiers. As a rule we took the cattle from the planters who remained loyal to the king. Although the United States were trying as hard as they could to free themselves from English rule, yet there were a few that did not favor the insurrection, and worked against the cause of liberty partly because they were born Englishmen, and partly on grounds of conscience. But they suffered often very keenly for their loyalty to the English government. To discover their attitude in this matter, usually six men went into the houses, pretended to be Hessians and asked questions about Washington's army: how strong it was, where it was located at the present time, and such details. If these people seemed to be glad to see us, and gave us information about the North American army, soon the entire detachment entered and took possession of the plantation, drove away the cattle and often stripped the house. The duped people then sincerely regretted their frankness, gazed with tears in their eyes after their cattle that we were driving away, and seeing the "U. S." on our powder pouches, realized too late that we were soldiers of the United States. Such matters occupied almost every night. The English, who very soon received word of our doings, never forgave us. After I had served about six months in the corps of Ortendorff, I with six other men decided

to desert to the English and Hessians, whose tents we could see in daytime not far from our camp. It was a dark, desolate night when we stole out of our bivouac; but we had gone only about fifty steps into the forest when a picket whom we were not expecting to find at this place called out: "Who goes?" and as we did not answer, fired immediately. Instantly we scattered in all directions and I decided to return as fast as I could to the camp, where I arrived before the commotion caused by the firing of the gun had become general. I joined in the alarm, but my anxiety knew no bounds, for I realized that if any of the deserters were captured and saw fit to betray me, the limb of a tree would furnish my punishment.

We had to answer roll-call immediately, and I was mighty glad that the six deserters were still missing and that the patrols sent out to search could not find them. A few days after this unsuccessful attempt to desert to the combined armies, we received orders to break camp. At daybreak we reached a mountain which was occupied by some thousand regular soldiers of the North American troops, who had with them a few cannon. Here we had command of the road that led around the mountain, which we saw covered with a multitude of soldiers, and the newly risen sun glittered on thousands of bayonets. This was a regiment of the English army with a vanguard formed of Hessian grenadiers. As soon as they came within range we fired our cannon at them. All at once, the endless marching line stood still, separated into divisions and, then disregarding our fire, charged down the mountain with fixed bayonets. When we saw that we were outnumbered and that resistance was hopeless, we abandoned our cannon and baggage and fled down the other side of the mountain. Many threw away their

rifles and knapsacks, and ran like hares into the forest. I fell into a ditch and my comrades, leaving me there for dead, jumped over me. As the cannon balls and rifle bullets were falling all around me, and I was afraid of being run through by the enemy that were pursuing us, I crawled on my hands and knees to some thick undergrowth nearby, and lay there until I could no longer hear any firing. After this I arose and went up to the place on the mountain where the skirmish had started. Here I found the Hessian grenadiers in possession of the camp. When I was still twenty feet distant from them, the Colonel called to a petty officer: "There comes a rebel!" The petty officer approached me and led me to the Colonel, who addressed me with stern and threatening words: "Well, you urchin, where do you come from? You were not able to make your escape, were you?" I answered that I had for a long time cherished the wish to be associated with my countrymen, and then I told him briefly all that had happened to me since my arrival in America. My story made a favorable impression on the Colonel and he ordered one of his orderlies to give me a glass of rum and some bread. At the same time he ordered me to remain in his batallion until it should go into winter quarters; also he promised that later on he would make some provision for my future.

After the troops had rested for a few hours, they again took up their march. But we had not marched longer than an hour when we met the entire corps of Ortendorff's men being led along under arrest, captured by an English company. I recognized among the prisoners my own comrades and I called to them: "See! Had you followed my example you also could have been at liberty now!"

This exclamation of mine was not the result of reflec-

tion and it might easily be fatal for me in the future. And even if this indiscretion did not bring me misfortune in this particular case, I would advise all persons to keep in mind the changeable fortunes of war, and to be more cautious and thoughtful that I showed myself to be on that occasion.

An hour before sunset we arrived at the camp of the main division of the English army. I was led promptly to the tent of Lord Cornwallis, who put many questions to me, but especially how strong the rebels were, where Washington was camped, how defensible the fortifications were, and how well they were manned. After I had given information on all these points, I had to swear allegiance to King George the Third, I received a rifle, and was enrolled in the grenadier battalion of the Knipphausen regiment. Now we marched toward Staten Island, laying opposite New York, where we remained in camp a few weeks. Then we passed over the North River towards the city of New York. We were unable to enter the city, but we dug caves in the ground and covered them with sod in which we had to pass the winter. But the English obtained quarters in the city. Not only were the Hessian soldiers discriminated against in this way, but they were obliged daily to do hard labor, throwing up earthworks about Fort Washington, a fortified place three miles above the city on the other side of the river. We also had to stand a very dangerous watch on an island in the river.

A narrow dam which led to this island, on which was a fortification called Paulus Haak, was the main outpost of our army.

New York, which is situated north of Philadelphia, is the capital of the State of New York. This state is larger than the German kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxonia and Wirtemberg together. During the Seven Years'

War, it suffered severely from conflagration. The port of this city is situated nearer the sea than the one at Philadelphia, and therefore commerce and navigation are more highly developed here than in the latter place. In the suburbs, there is only one spring that has sweet water; all the others are brackish, even containing particles of salt. Along the water front by the docks were many taverns, where dwelt the priestesses of the heathen goddess Venus. It would be very unfitting to call this region "holy ground." Directly opposite the landing place is a lighthouse whose rays can be seen at night very far out on the sea. Not far from the city, in the middle of the Hudson there is an eddy called Hellgate. Ships passing this place had to be very careful not to come too near lest they be drawn in and hurled to destruction. I listened with horror to the roaring of Hellgate when I had to go by it. After we had camped one or two months near New York, we received orders to be prepared to take ship. It was the nineteenth of December when we boarded the vessel called "The Two Sisters." As our regiment consisted of about eight hundred men besides the fifty seamen, we had to live in rather close quarters.

The entire fleet that left New York at this time amounted to almost two hundred ships. The weather was very stormy and the farther we sailed from the coast, the more violent the wind became. In a few days we saw only a few ships near us and finally none at all. Our ship constantly grew more unseaworthy, and the water poured into the hull until the barrels began to swim about. Of course we fired signals, but in vain. No ship was within hailing distance. There was nothing left for us to do but to delay the inevitable sinking of our leaking vessel. We had to lash ourselves with ropes to the pump that was on the upper deck, to

prevent our being washed overboard. And we had to pump day and night in order if possible to discharge from the boat the water that kept pouring in from below. Since we had not been in communication with the rest of the fleet for eight days, our captain opened his sealed orders, and found that our assembly point was South Carolina. Each captain of a transport receives sealed martial orders which he, under penalty of death, may not open until twenty-four hours shall have passed without his having seen any boat. Otherwise he has to follow the orders of the war vessels that always accompany the transports, which orders are communicated to him by the firing of guns and by other signals that are understood by him. Our ship directed its course south. After some time, we sighted dry land. This was the coast of the great State of Georgia, that contains over 59,000 square miles. We cast anchor near Savannah, the capital of this state, and made a landing in a convenient place. The soldiers were unshipped, the provisions and other contents of the boat put ashore, and the vessel itself raised. The great leaks from which the old ship had suffered during the storm, were caulked with tow and sealed over with pitch.

After eight days we took ship again and in due time arrived at the port of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, where we were greeted by the other vessels of the fleet that had been scattered far and wide by the storm. The American fleet lay under the guns of the fort of Charleston, which was guarded with more than a hundred cannon, commanding the canal leading to the city. Besides, all along the canal, there had been sunk small vessels to which iron spikes had been fastened in order to discourage the approach of any unfriendly vessel. But in spite of this, the English fleet, after

waiting six weeks for favoring winds, ran past the fortress, through the cannon fire of the Americans, right up to the city Charleston, where it was impossible for them to be shot at. During this venture some of the ships were damaged, and we also had a few killed and others wounded.

But before the English sea forces had passed the fortress, the Hessian troops on land had begun to lay siege to the city. It required altogether seven weeks to compel the city to capitulate to the Hessian-English army. The fortress, that could have held out much longer, capitulated also when the city surrendered. There was also in Charleston a body of troops from France, very strong, estimated at about twelve thousand men, sent over to assist the Americans. This corps was given leave to depart after the city and the fort had surrendered to the English. During the siege of Charleston, I had an opportunity to see a chief of the free Indians that live in the interior of the North American States but who are gradually being crowded out by the civilized Europeans and the North American settlers.

He came to examine our earthworks, and to offer our General Clinton a few thousand men as auxiliary troops. But the General refused this offer, perhaps chiefly for the reason that the Indians are savage; and generally are as harmful to their friends as to their enemies. This chief was clothed in a mantle of cloth bordered with bright gold. Instead of shoes, he wore sandals that were bound to his feet with strings. In his nose was suspended a big silver ring that hung to his under lip, and he wore a headdress from which great wing feathers dangled.

Shortly after the surrender of Charleston all of our men, except those needed to hold the city, were ordered to take ship again, and we sailed northward in order to

take Philadelphia, then in the hands of the Americans; but our first object was to give a decisive battle to the enemy, whose main army was on the other side of the Brandywine Creek. It is said that the North American army was one hundred thousand men strong. We had no more than ten thousand English, Scotch and Hessian soldiers, with some troops from Brunswick. A few days after we had left our ships, we found ourselves only two hours' distant from the enemy. Here we made a camp, not only for the purpose of reconnoitering the position, in order to determine its strength, but also to find out something about the Brandywine Creek over which we hoped to carry, if necessary, our light cannon. After our general's staff had obtained the desired information, we started at midnight, separated into three divisions. We dragged the great cannon along the highway, and arrived at daybreak within cannon range of the hostile camp.

General Washington, who commanded here in person must have thought that this was our entire army, and, that we intended to make an attempt at once to cross the river; for this reason he must have brought there the flower of his troops. I was with the third division, that marched the greater part of the way through forests and had to listen to the faraway roar of the cannon. It lacked half an hour of sunset when we made a halt, threw our knapsacks into a pile and put on our grenadier caps. This meant an immediate attack. An adjutant approached our general from the right wing, and we were ordered to march in double file. And now we advanced with fife and drum, charging with bayonets through the shallow Brandywine, storming the earthworks of the enemy with a rush and causing them to abandon everything and take to their heels. We pursued the enemy with shot and shell until late in the night.

From the left wing alone we took twenty two cannon of the enemy. At the center and from the right wing a few more had been captured. Also a great many men were taken, the exact number of whom I was unable to ascertain. The field of battle was strewn with rifles and powder pouches. We remained in camp here eight days. Every day new captures were made of those who tried to find refuge in the forests. The abandoned rifles and powder pouches were picked up, piled in wagons, and driven after the army.

Before the battle we had had to contend ourselves with ship's provisions; but now we received again fresh bread and meat. The owners of plantations had returned with their cattle to their homes.

After that, the Hessian army marched to Philadelphia without being molested. But since the English were in possession of that city, the Hessians encamped at a little hill covered with chestnut trees, about half an hour away. One morning a few days later we were attacked by a very strong troop of American soldiers. The enemy did not find us unprepared however. We seized our weapons with all haste and rushed out to meet the enemy, whose cannon shot began to fall into our camp, and we not only held our positions but also put our foes to flight and followed them over the Schuylkill River. After this bloody business was finished, we again withdrew to camp.

However, since Philadelphia was in possession of the Americans, our vessels of war and transports had to fight their way into port with difficulty, for the enemy had not only sunk in the Delaware River old hulls of vessels to which iron spikes had been attached, but the river itself was so shallow in places that our boats were in danger of running aground on the shoals. Besides this, the enemy had thrown up opposite the fort on a

tongue of land called Redbank, jutting out from the shore of New Jersey, immense earthworks that had to be taken before the English fleet could hope to proceed into port.

The Hessian army division under the command of Lieutenant General von Knipphausen received orders to take the above-mentioned earthworks from the land side. In the following out of this order, we crossed the Delaware one night in skiffs and barges.

After we had crossed over the river mentioned above, we marched through dense forests where I met one of my old acquaintances living in the province of New Jersey, and I said to him jestingly that I was going to visit my old master. This remark was an incautious one, and could easily have had damaging consequences for me in case our expedition miscarried, since I was, as I have shown, a derserter from the American army. After we had marched all day we found ourselves still an hour's journey from the earthworks we were supposed to take. We finally arrived at a forest that was only half an hour's march from the fortress, that we meant to capture. The earthworks had been thrown up on an elevated piece of ground, and from where we were, we could see the soldiers there, hanging out their wash to dry. We had to set to work in the forest to get together as quickly as possible material for breastworks, to assist us if necessary in taking the earthworks. In the meantime, Colonel von Dunopp, who commanded our troop, sent a bugler to the Americans, demanding their surrender. On their refusal, the signal to advance was given, and we went forward to the sound of fife and drum.

Meantime the enemy made all possible preparation for defence, and were kept informed of our movements by the American war vessels that lay anchored near the

earthworks, and to which they communicated by means of speaking tubes. They opened fire on us before we were well out of the forest, and did us considerable damage. Nevertheless we advanced courageously and reached the first palisade before a few faint-hearted ones showed signs of wishing to run away. This angered me, and as I found that I was unable to climb the palisade, I called to a few of them to help me up, making them believe that Colonel Dunopp was already inside the earthworks and that those were as good as taken. They complied with my request; but as I pressed forward with the invaders, we came to a palisade made of fruit trees, the branches of which had been sharpened. Now we were so near the very heart of the fortification that we could see the enemy in their blockhouses, taking sight of us, but we had to relinquish all hope of the success of our undertaking. A hail of rifle bullets and cannon balls fell around us; warriors dropped on every side. We essayed another attack and Colonel von Dunopp was among the first to charge. But he was struck down, both his lower limbs being shattered by an exploding cartridge. This accident only increased the helplessness of his men; all started to retreat. Just at the moment when I was trying to pass between the stakes of the palisade, I was struck by a rifle bullet that entered under one of my shoulder blades, passed over my spinal column and out through the other shoulder blade. And so I dropped to the ground, as the others started to retreat. Racked with agony, listening to the screams of pain from my comrades, I lay there unattended, through the chill October night. Not being able to see my wound I did not know myself how seriously I had been hurt.

And even before nightfall I saw the jubilant Americans come down to the palisade in their glittering

uniforms and heard them call to us: "Oh, you Hessian scoundrels! Now we are going to put an end to all of you!"

Soon after this they came down to the battle-field, and took away from some of the wounded Hessian officers their purses and their watches. American officers seeing this ran out and drove the plunderers back within the fortification, in fear, I think lest the attack by the Hessians be renewed. But this did not happen; and on the following morning all the wounded soldiers were carried on stretchers inside the earthworks. Messengers were then dispatched to the Hessian army division for surgeons to take care of us. A few of these surgeons arrived that same day, and were able to help at least a few of us. Some of us were promptly bandaged, and on others amputations of legs or of arms were performed. I was among the first to be taken care of by the doctors, because I made the statement that I was a surgeon myself. After I had been cared for properly, I attended the funeral of our commander, Colonel von Dunopp, which took place with all military honors. All the others that had fallen were buried in one big trench.

A few days later all the wounded Hessians were taken in closed carriages to the main hospital in Princeton, where they were cared for. In this hospital at Princeton I was recognized by one of the nurses who had served with me in the volunteer corps of the Americans, and he asked me how it was that I was with the Hessians. I was not overjoyed at being recognized. I answered, being afraid of the consequences did I confess my desertion, that I had been captured during the skirmish at the mountain in Pennsylvania when the volunteer corps had been overwhelmed, and that I had been kept a prisoner since that day. As our conversation was

carried on in English, it was overheard by these standing near, among whom was the physician on duty at that time.

I had to tell him all that had happened to me, and when he learned that I was a physician, he offered immediately to take me into his service. His name was Tilton and he intended having me work in the hospital, as my wound was not giving me any considerable trouble. I accepted his invitation without hesitation, and went straightway to his house. He was not married and had no servant. So I had not only to feed his saddle horse, but to perform domestic duties as well. In a short time my wound was completely healed, and I was able to take up my hospital duties. Aside from my food I received no compensation except when I shaved some one, let blood or performed some other surgical operation. But soon I was in the position where I could save a small amount of money. Mr. Tilton was a well-meaning and learned gentleman. Often in hours of leisure he would converse with me not only on subjects relating to his profession but also about the American war that progressed with changing fortunes. Although I myself had participated in the opening events of the war, I had to ask him the causes, since he knew more about it than I. And this is what he said about the North American war: "Of course, England in the year 1765 had won Canada from the French, thus ridding herself of a disagreeable neighbor, but she also heaped upon herself the burden of a debt of forty million pounds. The military and civil government of the American provinces cost America an immense amount of money. All this caused the English parliament to attempt to place some of the responsibility of payment of this debt on the American colonies, so direct taxes were imposed. Especially the North

American colonists objected to paying the tax on the consignments of tea that the East India Company were allowed to bring to their ports. All the merchants refused to accept the tea that was sent to them, and if any one failed to reject it, he was adjudged lacking in honor. In Boston a cousin of Governor Hutchinson accepted a consignment of tea, but the people in open revolt seized the three hundred and forty boxes and threw them into the sea. This refusal brought severe punishment down on the Americans and the British closed the port of Boston. This embargo quickly fanned to a blaze the hidden smouldering fire of rebellion, which is flaming fiercely now on the banks of the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Hudson, the Potomac, the Savannah, the Ohio and the Mississippi. Since 1774 the provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia had confederated, formed of their representatives a Congress headed by a President whom the senators elected for a term of six years. The most excellent General Washington leads the defenders of the country, who are determined not to lay down their weapons until the colonies are free. The thoughtful and sincere Franklin is the chief counsellor of the commander-in-chief. Even if the English have more experienced soldiers and officers, I am not afraid for the welfare of the American nation. Our commanders and soldiers will shortly learn the trade of war from our enemies, just as the Russians did from the Swedes some time ago. And even if the army of the enemy is courageous, ours is none the less brave, and we have the advantage of greater numbers and knowledge of the territory. The English have to bring reinforcements at great expense from Europe. Our hosts

of freedom spring up everywhere. I am living in the happy and confident hope that the struggle for freedom puts forth such strong and deep roots under the protection of the genius of human rights, that neither Hessians nor English will be able to destroy. The dawn of better times and of a higher political and moral life breaks for you, 'for your mistreated Fatherland,' " said Mr. Tilton, with a beaming countenance. "The fame of our remarkable uprising is heard from the coast of Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Orinoco to the Plata, from the shores of the ancient kingdoms of the Incas to the West Indian archipelago. Everywhere will arise the consciousness of latent power and the longing for better political conditions. Just as once Asiatic and Egyptian culture, transplanted to the woody shores of Italy and Greece, put forth new blossoms, in the same manner European culture will burst into flower in the forests of America, and the well developed youth will cease to fear the rod of the father but will dwell here, independent and strong for himself. Maybe," concluded my prophetic superior," our new life in freedom will beneficially influence Europe and the other parts of the world."

This and other remarks of Mr. Tilton, which I did not wholly understand, seemed to me in those days incredible, and I often felt like laughing outright in his face. But since in the year 1783, England was forced to recognize the independence of the North American States, I saw clearly that physician Tilton of Princeton had not badly prophesied the political occurences of the future. I came to this conclusion later, after the eruption of the French Revolution. The army corps that had been sent from France (which was still suffering from the loss of Canada) and who had taken prisoners by the English at the battle of Charleston, was doubtless an

important factor in the rising of the French Revolution. Also it is a well-known fact that those Frenchmen, who gained their military experience in the North American struggle for freedom, did not only give themselves immediately over to the cause of liberty in their own country, but acted also as mouth-pieces for the teachings of Rousseau, Montesquieu, and d'Alembert, and in this way made proselytes for the cause so dear to them. And did not the sight of North American Freedom and its attractive fruits inspire very recently other countries of America to make the attempt to bring about a similar condition of affairs? A new life blossoms on the Orinoco, on the Plata, in Peru and in Hayti; and America, which consisted until recently only of European provinces and a few independent states, stands there demanding loudly to be received into the family of the countries of the world, and has already been partly welcomed. Greater and more far-reaching are the consequences of the North American struggle than Mr. Tilton could ever have suspected.

Although I got on very well with my philathropic and learned principal, I did not desire to remain in America, but wanted to return to my fatherland. So I made my feelings known to my chief and asked him to procure me a pass to go to Philadelphia, if he thought that I would not be prevented from leaving America. I desired to take passage on a ship that carried French troops or to sail to the West Indies and await there an opportunity to go to Europe. Although Mr. Tilton was not very pleased at my going, he gave me a pass, because, as he said, he was unable to refuse my urgent demand. Moved to tears, I said good-by to this honorable gentleman, and went to Philadelphia. After my arrival I took quarters at an inn, and started immediately to investigate when a ship might be sailing

for France or for the West Indies. But to my great disappointment, I learned that owing to the state of war, quite a time must elapse before a boat would sail. I met here a proprietor of an inn situated one hour outside of Philadelphia, and he offered to take me into his service. I accepted immediately as I wanted to stay near Philadelphia, and await a chance to go to Europe. Again I was a porter, and received as pay my lodging, my board and tips. Among my duties was the care of my master's saddle horse, an English racer called The Redbird. It was an extremely fine animal, and I had to exercise him every now and then. In the feeding and caring for the animal, this was the program: I had to give it food five or six times a day, but I could never give him more than half a measure of very pure oats and some clean clover hay. Every evening, I had to wrap his legs with cow-dung, after I had washed them with soapy water and dried them carefully. I also prepared for him a thick bed of straw. In the morning the cow-dung was taken off his legs and the straw removed, so that he stood all day on the bare boards. In the afternoon I had to trot him. During my stay with my present master, a race was arranged between his animal and another one called The Grave House. My master had bet a few thousand pounds sterling that his racer would arrive at the goal first. I had a similar bet with an acquaintance, of my entire fortune consisting of five pounds. On the day appointed for the horse race a heavy snow fell and I had to clear the race track. After all the preparations for the race had been made, a few hundred more bets had been closed besides those of the men who owned the horses. Then the races began. Unfortunately the Red Bird passed the goal two seconds after the other horse, and my master and myself lost our money. It was the custom also to place bets on

cock fights. The cocks were armed with little iron spurs.

After I had lost all my money on this horse race, I gave up hope of being able to reach Europe very soon, so I took my leave. I went to Philadelphia, having heard that boats would sail in the near future for the West Indies. I went to sea as an ordinary sailor on one of these boats. It was a merchant ship on which I had taken service, bound for the French West Indian colonies, escorted by an American frigate. We put to sea without delay. A few days after we had lost sight of the mainland of America, we saw a ship coming toward us that carried no flag. To learn whether this were an American or an English vessel—that is, if it were friendly or belonging to the enemy, we fired our guns so that we would be answered by the running up of some standard. Our demand was satisfied without delay; not the American but an English flag swayed on its mast. It was a hostile vessel. As soon as we were sure of this, our commandant decided to capture the vessel. Both our ships came alongside and demanded its surrender. As this was refused, we started to fire at the English, and kept it up until they took in their sails and gave themselves up to us. Our ship's captain decided to send the captured vessel and the crew back to Philadelphia. For this purpose a number of men were chosen by lot who should serve as escort, and I was among those chosen. All the English prisoners were manacled with handcuffs found on the captured vessel; only the English captain, Dauny, was allowed to walk about free. Very soon this captain and I became friendly, especially when he heard that I was a German and longed to return to my fatherland. After he had gathered the impression from our several conversations that I was by no means an enthusiastic republican he

confided to me the plan he had formed to gain liberty for himself and his fellow prisoners by causing mutiny among the seamen. He tried to induce me to assist him in carrying out his plans, and promised, that if everything turned out as he wished, to take care of my future and to bring me back to the English army at all events. This was the plan he proposed to carry out: He himself, a strong daring man, proposed to attack the two American officers at a given time with an old sword that he had secreted in the boat. At the same time I was to free, as quickly as possible, the hands not only of the English officers, but also of the ordinary seamen. It all depended on me, he said, and if I were quick enough, the plan had to succeed.

Any one can realize that I suffered a great temptation. I shrank at first from the gravely dangerous business that it was proposed I should take upon myself. But since Dauny spared no effort to persuade me, I finally consented. I realized that by being implicated in this business, I wronged the North Americans; but the arguments of Captain Dauny quieted all that my conscience said against it. The promise of a return to Europe on an English ship in the near future did much to influence me in my decision. Not without misgiving did I watch the approach of the hour that was appointed by the English Captain for the carrying out of his plan. It meant sure death to me if the project miscarried. The hour arrived. Armed with the old sword that he had secreted, Dauny, without hesitation, fell upon the two American officers, who, not being in the least prepared, were easily overcome. In the meantime I had not only freed all the English officers but had, with hammers, broken off the handcuffs on a part of the men. They fell with terrible shrieks upon the Americans and disarmed them. The sailors that were high up in the

masts did not understand for a moment or two what had happened, and suspected that a fire had broken out. But when they learned of the mutiny, they asked for pardon. I was overjoyed at the happy outcome of this daring deed, of which I cannot even yet think without emotion, because it saved me from certain death. Also I rejoiced over the fact that there was no loss of life.

After this event, conditions on shipboard changed. The English took possession of the vessel, and the Americans had to occupy the position that the English had had before. Captain Dauny took over the command. He knew exactly where we were, and turned our course towards New York, where the English fleet lay; and with a favorable wind we arrived there in due time.

Immediately on landing, I endeavored to find the regiment of von Knipphausen, in which I had before enlisted. In New York I was able to find only a recruiting station for this regiment, since the regiment itself was besieging Fort Washington. The officer who was in charge of this station and who gave me the information, told me that the regiment was expected very soon in New York. I made up my mind to wait for it. As a portion of the men, after the taking of this fort, returned to New York, I applied of Dr. Michaelis for the position of staff physician of the Hessians. He advised me first to attend his medical lectures which he was about to give in New York and promised to give me a position if possible in the regiment of von Knipphausen. I followed the advice of the good Dr. Michaelis, enrolled in his class, and helped him as well as I could in his hospital duties. After I had attended his lectures for half a year, the Knipphausen regiment came back to New York, and as there was a vacancy in the company commanded by Colonel von Burg, I was made field surgeon.

Here I will mention the tragic fate that overtook a certain Major Andre during the siege of Fort Washington. This major was ordered by General Arnold, who had gone over from the Americans to the English, to reconnoitre the fort. Disguised, he had advanced to the last post of the enemy, when he was recognized and arrested as a spy. Although Majors Clinton and Arnold did their best to induce Washington, the Commander-in-Chief, to release Andre, no attention was paid to these requests and he was hanged as a spy. Shortly after I had received my position as surgeon, the regiment Knipphausen was transferred to Long Island on the other side of New York. We camped near a little city in which only the officers received quarters. All the men had to build sod-houses for themselves. The surgeons of this regiment erected for themselves a large house of sod, so that they could be easily found. Soon we became known in the little city near which we camped and had a few patients there. Regarding these patients we made an oral agreement, to wit: one after the other should attend the patients and the pay should be distributed equally among us all. Since I spoke fluent English I was more often called upon by the inhabitants of my little city than were my colleagues who did not speak English. This induced me not to respect the agreement, so that I need not divide my very considerable remuneration with the others. That caused considerable excitement among them; and especially a certain Franke did his best to draw me into a quarrel. He said, "You are a rebel." I answered, "I am a German as well as you, and a surgeon as good as you, but you are besides this a scoundrel. If you do not like this statement of mine, then we will fight." The angry man immediately challenged me to a duel, and both of us chose our seconds. We went to a garden

where the duel was to take place. When we had taken our positions, my opponent said: "Do we fight to draw blood or to kill?" I answered immediately, "I fight for nothing less than for life and for death." My opponent, who was a very good fencer, had not expected this answer from me. He dropped his sword and cried: "Brother I see that your heart is in the right place and that you are a brave man. I have all the satisfaction I wanted. Come and give me your hand as a sign of reconciliation."

And so it happened. We became again the best of friends, and cheered our spirits with a bowl of punch. In the little city I have referred to, I made the acquaintance of a young Irish girl, called Betsy, the daughter of a merchant. She was a sweet, modest woman, very much attracted to me. But she never permitted any intimacies and resisted all my opportunities in a way that inspired in me a great respect for her. Oh, would that all young girls would act towards men as the lovable Betsy conducted herself with me, and never would permit the closest relationship before the priest has consecrated the bond of their love! Those who do not act as Betsy did are not only regarded without respect by all moral people, but they also are despised by those to whom they have given themselves so easily. Surely I would not be able to think so respectfully of the lovely Betsy had she been less firmly grounded in virtue. After six months had passed, our regiment had orders to march back to New York. I had therefore to collect with all possible dispatch the money owed me by my patients. Among my debtors were two girls who drove a dishonorable business with their bodies and whom I had cured. They, knowing the orders that we had received, hesitated to pay their debt, as the departure of our regiment was imminent. This angered

me, and accompanied by two grenadiers, I paid them a visit at their home and demanded to be paid immediately. They replied that they had no money, and besides used very impolite language. This excited my wrath in a most terrible manner and I took out my sword and with it destroyed the mirrors and windows. The noise I made was heard by a Hessian colonel who was living opposite and he immediately sent the watch to arrest me. After I stated that I belonged to the Knipphausen regiment, I was taken back to camp, and when brought before Colonel von Burg, released on the condition that I repair all the damage if the women should ask it. This I promised.

At midnight the regiment broke up and marched towards New York. On the preceding day, I paid a visit to my beautiful, beloved Betsy to bid her good-by. She seemed very broken up over my departure, but could not decide to follow me to Germany. She asked if I would remain in America she would promise to be mine. I could not make up my mind to do that and with tears in my eyes I left this magnificently virtuous girl who was worthy to be a pattern to all other maidens. Our regiment went into camp near New York where it remained until peace was concluded. At this time I witnessed a terrible execution. An English ship's captain who had made the attempt to go over with his frigate to the enemy and had been prevented from doing so by an English war vessel, was hanged on a gallows erected near the banks of the North River. Seven accomplices were executed at the same time on a war vessel lying in the New York port. I could not believe at first that England and the colonies would make peace; but well-informed persons declared that the end of the war was undoubtedly in sight. The English and Hessian army had suffered terribly during

the last months. Generals Burgoyne and Cornwallis, who with their troops had occupied the northern provinces, had been forced by hunger to surrender to the Americans. A similar fate had befallen the army division under the command of the Hessian General Rahl. Besides this, the English government realized that it could not rule over the thirteen American states and was inclined to make peace. Lord North and Secretary of State Fox gave the English generals orders to stop all hostilities in the last days of March in 1782. I was reminded of the prophesies of Tilton, the physician, in Princeton.

Later, in the year 1783, peace was declared through the mediation of France, the English and Hessian army was placed aboard transports and war vessels to the number of two hundred, and shipped off to Europe.

A single ship was commissioned to receive our entire regiment and was therefore very heavily loaded. The fleet sailed in the following order: The transports were surrounded on all sides by war vessels. The admiral's ship, in advance of all others, was in command. The orders were given partly by cannon shots. partly by signalling with differently colored flags; and at night by three big lanterns which could be seen far and wide. No captain was allowed to leave the fleet with his ship unless he wished to invite the severest penalty. Notwithstanding this, our captain one night set all sails and deliberately left the fleet. We sailed with a good wind quickly forward, and landed nearly one month before the other vessels, arriving at the little market town, Bremerlehe, on the River Weser.

Before I proceed to set down a few facts about my later history, I will make some remarks about the conditions at present in the American free states, in which so much happened to me and in which I for my part did

not find happiness. These free states have grown very greatly since the year 1783. It has at present an area of more than 197,000 square miles. There could be formed from it eight countries as large as the Austrian Empire. Prussia could find place inside its boundaries twenty-four times. Notwithstanding its extension, the population of the United States does not even equal that of the much smaller state of Prussia. But it increases from year to year.

The States consist now of nineteen closely related republics, and a few territories and dependencies. The forests are being rapidly cut away and without doubt, there can be seen plantations and even cities at this time where I, in my day, saw dense woods. How many inhabitants would this great country have were it as closely populated as the Prussian dukedom of Saxony!

After the Knipphausen regiment had landed and had taken a few days' rest, it started its march towards Hessea. Everywhere we went, especially when we passed through the little towns, the people thronged to look at us, attracted especially by the negroes who were employed in the regiment bands. The regiment occupied barracks in and near Grebenstein, not far from Cassel. All its foreigners were soon afterwards dismissed. I also received my discharge and my back pay, which amounted to twenty dollars. I started for home immediately.

After a few days I stepped on Saxon ground, and shouted with joy. Accompanied by a confectioner who had agreed for a certain price to carry my gripsack, I went to Leipzig, Torgau and from there to Senftenberg. Passing through the village Cletewitz I stopped at the Totzig Mills, half an hour from Senftenberg, in the hopes of seeing some people from that place, but no one recognized me here, not even the proprietor of the mills,

who had been my schoolmate in Senftenberg. After I had disclosed my identity and inquired after the welfare of my family, I learned that my mother had died a few years ago and that my father lay very sick. After he had told me of a few other things that had happened in these parts during my absence, I hurried to Senftenberg. Here I was received with great evidences of pleasure by the electoral tax commissioner Roesser, a brother-in-law of my deceased mother. As I desired to see my father that same day, the son of the tax commissioner was dispatched to Lauta, to prepare him for my arrival. Soon after, I started for the place of my birth. Near Koschenberg I was met by young Roesser accompanied by my younger sisters, who did not know me at all, since they were little children when I went out into the world, and it seemed strange to me to see them as growing maidens. Although we were happy over our reunion, our rejoicing soon gave place to sorrow, when they told me that our father was very sick and could live perhaps only a few more days. With sincere thankfulness on entering my native town again, I praised Providence that had saved me so graciously from so many dangers and so many terrible situations. And although I had to walk on my feet and could not drive in my coach and four, I rejoiced from the bottom of my heart that I was walking on the soil of Lauta.

I entered my father's house with tears in my eyes, and they that were there wept also. Disregarding his great weakness, my father sat up in bed and said in a failing voice: "My son, the light of my eyes has left me. I cannot see you, but your voice tells me that you are my son."

I fell into his emaciated arms and we wept. He then told me that during my absence many misfortunes had overtaken him; that after the death of my mother and

my brother Friedrich, who had been pastor in Hohenbocka, he had been seized with an epidemic disease and that he was for a long time unable to exercise his duties. Then he informed me that he had afterwards married the sister of Pastor Zierenberg in Petershain, a woman of his own age, who had taken excellent care of his little children. My stepmother seemed to be very glad to have me at home again, especially, I think, because she believed that in case of my father's death, I would provide for my half-grown brothers and sisters.

Only two more days did I see my father among the living. On the third, his soul departed from the worn-out body and went to a higher, better life.

After my father's death I took over the management of the affairs of my family and had to go to the court-house in Senftenberg, to adjust these matters very often. On these occasions I usually paid a visit to my uncle and my aunt and to the tax commissioner in this city. They all advised me to settle in this place, and to marry, drawing my attention to the daughter of the official surgeon, Alberti. I tried to get acquainted with this girl, and finally won her hand. After our marriage we lived in the house of my father-in-law, and I helped the latter in the discharge of his professional duties. But since there was not enough for both of us to do, I decided to take up the culture of silk, which was officially encouraged in those times, and with which I had acquainted myself during my travels. Since there were already a few mulberry trees in this place, my attempts were crowned with success, as I produced the first year three pounds of silk. Taking the result of my labor with me to Dresden, I applied to the electoral commissioner of industry for a subsidy on which to continue my business. After I had shown the silk which I had produced myself, I not only received a

reward of twenty dollars, but also four hundred young mulberry trees, with the directions for planting them. I planted these trees partly near the city, partly in the cemetery and the rest on the streets. But the mulberry trees that had been so well started were destroyed either by stupid persons or by those that wanted to take revenge on me. When I finally saw that I reaped no reward from my efforts, I grew discouraged and gave up the project of silk-culture.

During my errand in Dresden, in connection with the silk-culture, I took the necessary steps at the sanitary department for admission to the examination of surgeons. I passed my examination and was appointed assistant to my ageing father-in-law.

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